

Message Text

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DRC-01 EURE-00 /146 W

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S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 4336

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: REVISED ISD DRAFT OF SECTION II (ALLIED POSITION)

1. TEXT OF FOURTH IS DRAFT OF SECTION II FOLLOWS BELOW.
MISSION COMMENTS CONTAINED SEPTTEL.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

II. THE ALLIED POSITION

INTRODUCTION

3. THE POSITION DESCRIBED IN THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS
DEFINES THE GOALS THE ALLIED GOVERNMENTS HAVE AGREED TO
SEEK IN THE MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. ADJUSTMENT OF THIS POSITION,
FOR INSTANCE IN RESPONSE TO REQUIREMENTS OF THE NEGOTIATING
SITUATION, WOULD NECESSITATE A COLLECTIVE POLICY DECISION
TO BE TAKEN BY THE ALLIES IN ACCORDANCE WITH NATO PROCEDURES
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AS SET OUT IN SECTION V OF THIS DOCUMENT.

TERMINOLOGY

4. WHEN NECESSARY FOR INTERNAL ALLIANCE PURPOSES OR IN FIRST PHASE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE OTHER SIDE, FOR INSTANCE, DISTINCTIONS AMONG NATO FORCES (1) AND WARSAW PACT FORCES WILL BE MADE IN TERMS OF UNITED STATES AND SOVIET FORCES ON THE ONE HAND, AND "OTHER NATO FORCES" AND "OTHER WARSAW PACT FORCES" ON THE OTHER HAND, RATHER THAN IN TERMS OF STATIONED AND INDIGENOUS FORCES.

4 BIS. THE TERMS "PHASE", "STAGE" AND "STEP" AS USED IN THIS DOCUMENT DENOTE:

- PHASE: A MAJOR NEGOTIATING PERIOD RESULTING IN AN MBFR AGREEMENT (E.G. THE FIRST PHASE WITH REDUCTINS OF SOVIET AND US FORCES);
- STAGE : A BLOC OF NEGOTIATING TIME OF UNDETERMINED LENGTH (E.G. THE INITIAL STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS, LASTING TWO TO FOUR MONTHS);
- STEP : A NEGOTIATING MOVE (E.G. THE PRESENTATION OF OPENING STATEMENTS IN THE INITIAL STAGE).

(1) AT AN APPROPRIATE POINT IN THE FINAL VERSION OF THIS DOCUMENT IT SHOULD BE POINTED OUT THAT THE TERM "NATO FORCES" AS USED HEREIN DOES NOT INCLUDE FRENCH FORCES, ALTHOUGH FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG ARE COUNTED IN INTERNAL ALLIED CALCULATIONS OF NATO GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA.

PRINCIPLES

5. AS SET OUT IN THE GUIDELINES SECTION ABOVE, A BALANCED OUTCOME THAT WILL ENSURE UNDIMINISHED SECURITY FOR ALL MEMBERS OF THE ALLIANCE IS A PRINCIPAL ALLIED OBJECTIVE. THIS OBJECTIVE, WHICH IS BASED ON THE CONCEPT THAT ALLIED
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SECURITY IS INDIVISIBLE, SHOULD BE MADE CLEAR TO THE OTHER SIDE AT ALL STAGES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. ALLIED PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CONSISTENT WITH THIS OBJECTIVE AND SHOULD GIVE FULL WEIGHT IN EACH PROVISION TO THE SPECIAL CONCERNS OF THE NATO FLANK COUNTRIES.

PRE-REDUCTION STABILISING MEASURES

6. PRE-REDUCTION STABILISING MEASURES APPLICABLE IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA AIM AT BUILDING CONFIDENCE BY REDUCING THE RISK OF MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND AMBIGUOUS MILITARY ACTIVITY. SUCH CONSTRAINTS SHOULD BE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO GIVE THE SOVIETS THE MEANS FOR

INTERFERENCE IN WESTERN EUROPEAN DEFENCE AND FOREIGN POLICIES. /THESE CONSTRAINTS WOULD OF NECESSITY BE APPLIED TO SPECIFIC FORCES IN RELATION TO SPECIFIC TERRITORIES; IN THEIR FORMULATION THEY SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE FOCUSED ON FORCES RATHER THAN ON TERRITORIES./ (1) SUBJECT TO FURTHER EXAMINATION IN THE ALLIANCE AND TO THE CONSIDERATIONS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPH ... OF THE GUIDELINES SECTION ABOVE (2), THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT PRIOR TO REDUCTIONS ON THE FOLLOWING MEASURES:

(I) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MOVEMENTS OF US AND SOVIET FORCES INTO THE AREA INCLUDING ROTATIONS;

/(II) PRE-ANNOUNCEMENT OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA;

(III) LIMITS ON SIZE, LOCATIONS, NUMBER AND DURATION OF MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA;

(IV) EXCHANGE OF OBSERVERS AT MAJOR EXERCISES BY ALL FORCES IN THE AREA./

(1) /THESE CONSIDERATIONS APPLY EQUALLY TO PARAGRAPH 12./
(2) PARAGRAPH 12 OF C-M(73)50(3RD REVISE) REFERS.

REDUCTIONS
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7. THE OBJECTIVE WOULD BE APPROXIMATE PARITY IN THE FORM OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO GUIDELINES AREA REACHED IN TWO PHASES THROUGH A MAXIMUM 10 PCT REDUCTION IN OVERALL NATO GROUND FORCE MANPOWER AND WARSAW PACT REDUCTIONS TO THE RESULTING NATO FORCE LEVEL. /THIS FIGURE TAKES INTO ACCOUNT POSSIBLE REPERCUSSION ON AGREED NATO STRATEGY: FORWARD DEFENCE, FLEXIBLE RESPONSE AND NUCLEAR DETERRENCE./ THE COMMON CEILING IS TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS APPROXIMATE PARITY IN GROUND /MANPOWER, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT COMBAT CAPABILITY AND DEPLOYMENT./ OR /FORCES, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR COMBAT CAPABILITY IN TERMS OF MANPOWER, HEAVY WEAPONRY (TANKS) AND DEPLOYMENT./ /THERE WOULD BE AN INTERNAL ALLIED DECISION TO DIX A FLOOR BELOW WHICH ALLIED REDUCTIONS SHOULD NO GO./ (GE)

8. WITHDRAWAL TO THEIR HOMELAN
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(1) /THE PRINCIPLE IN PARAGRAPH 9 MEANS THAT US WITHDRAWALS
SHOULD BE LIMITED TO A COMBAT CAPABILITY EQUIVALENT OF TWO
BRIGADES./

11. THIS REDUCTION CONCEPT HAS THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL
FEATURES:

(I) NATO SHOULD BE PERMITTED FLEXIBILITY IN THE
FORM OF REDUCTION ON GROUNDS OF ASYMMETRY OF
CONDITIONS, WHEREAS REDUCTION OF WARSAW PACT
FORCES BY MAJOR UNITS WITH THEIR EQUIPMENT
SHOULD BE SOUGHT.

(II) PROVISIONS CONCERNING DISPOSITION OF EQUIPMENT
ON BOTH SIDES WILL TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE
ASYMMETRIES WHICH PERMIT THE SOVIETS TO
REINFORCE MORE RAPIDLY IN CENTRAL EUROPE
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THAN THE US. IN THIS SENSE, PROVISIONS
SHOULD BE SOUGHT PERMITTING THE US TO STORE
AND MAINTAIN US HEAVY EQUIPMENT IN WESTERN
EUROPE IN ORDER TO OFFSET THE FACILITY WITH
WHICH THE SOVIET FORCES WITHDRAWN TO THE
WESTERN PARTS OF THE SOVIET UNION COULD
RETURN TO THEIR ORIGINAL POSITIONS.

/(III) SOVIET WITHDRAWALS SHOULD INVOLVE DISBANDMENT
WITHOUT REPLACEMENT FROM THE SOVIET STRATEGIC

RESERVE./

STABILISING MEASURES, INCLUDING NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS,
TO ACCOMPANY REDUCTIONS

12. SUBJECT TO FURTHER EXAMINATION WITHIN THE ALLIANCE,
THE ALLIES WILL SEEK AGREEMENT ON THE FOLLOWING MEASURES (1)
APPLICABLE TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES IN THE NATO
GUIDELINES AREA:

(I) LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF FORCES INTO THE AREA;

(1) THESE MEASURES WILL BE NEGOTIATED IN ADDITION TO THE
PRE-REDUCTION STABILISING MEASURES IN PARAGRAPH 6
ABOVE, ON WHICH AGREEMENT IS ASSUMED TO HAVE BEEN
REACHED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

/(II) LIMITATIONS ON MOVEMENTS OF FORCES ACROSS
NATIONAL BOUNDARIES WITHIN THE AREA.
(PROPOSALS BY THE EAST FOR APPLICATION OF THESE
CONSTRAINTS TO OTHER NATO FORCES OR FOR FORMULATIONS
WHICH WOULD IMPLY AUTOMATIC APPLICATION OF SUCH
CONSTRAINTS IN SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS SHOULD BE
REJECTED);

OR

/(II) NOTIFICATION, WITHOUT TIME-LAG, OF MAJOR MOVEMENTS
OF FORCES WITHIN THE AREA./
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(III) AGREEMENT TO RESPECT THE LEVELS OF US AND SOVIET
GROUND FORCES ESTABLISHED BY A REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT.

THESE MEASURES SHOULD BE DESIGNED IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT TO GIVE
THE SOVIETS THE MEANS FOR INTERFERENCE IN WESTERN DEFENCE AND
FOREIGN POLICIES.

/12 BIS. IN ORDER TO ENHANCE THE EFFECTIVENESS OF A
REDUCTIONS AGREEMENT IN CENTRAL EUROPE AND TO ELIMINATE OR
MITIGATE ANY INCREASE IN THE THREAT TO THE FLANKS AS A RESULT
OF MBFR IN THE CENTRAL REGION, CERTAIN PROVISIONS DESIGNED
FOR POSSIBLE USE WITH THE OTHER SIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE
TACTICAL NEGOTIATING SITUATION, SHOULD BE URGENTLY STUDIED
AND AGREED UPON WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, SUCH AS:

(I) PROVISIONS FOR THE DISBANDMENT OF SOVIET WITHDRAWN
FORCES WITHOUT REPLACEMENT FROM THE SOVIET STRATEGIC
RESERVE;

(II) PROVISIONS TO PUT IN RESERVE THE SOVIET WITHDRAWN FORCES;

(III) PROVISIONS TO PREVENT THE SOVIET WITHDRAWN FORCES TO BE DEPLOYED TO THE THREE WESTERN OR THE LENINGRAD AND ODESSA /OR NORTHERN AND TRANS-CAUCASIAN MILITARY DISTRICTS/;

(IV) OTHER STABILISING MEASURES, INCLUDING NON-CIRCUMVENTION PROVISIONS/.

13. AN IMPORTANT GOAL OF THE ALLIED APPROACH SHOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT ANY AGREEMENT WILL NOT BE CIRCUMVENTED OR UNDERMINED, FOR EXAMPLE BY MEANS OF AN INCREASE OF THE SOVIET FORCES IN HUNGARY. WHILE ALL POSSIBILITIES SHOULD BE STUDIED, INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY THAT NON-CIRCUMVENTION WITH RESPECT TO HUNGARY COULD BE ASSURED THROUGH THE APPLICATION OF STABILISING MEASURES SUCH AS THOSE LISTED IN PARAGRAPH 12 ABOVE, THE BEST TIME TO DETERMINE WHICH SPECIFIC MEASURES WOULD BE MOST EFFECTIVE WILL BE AFTER THE OUTLINE OF A REDUCTION AGREEMENT HAS TAKEN SHAPE IN

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NEGOTIATIONS AND ALLIED PROPOSALS REGARDING HUNGARY CAN BE TAILORED ACCORDINGLY, AND CAN ALSO BE ADVANCED WITH MINIMUM RISK OF EASTERN COUNTER-PROPOSALS TO EXPAND THE GEOGRAPHIC FOCUS OF NEGOTIATIONS BEYOND CENTRAL EUROPE. R

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PROVISIONS FOR THE CONTINUATION OF NEGOTIATIONS IN A SECOND PHASE

EITHER

/16. THE ALLIES WILL SEEK INCLUSION IN A FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT OF LANGUAGE PROVIDING FOR A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE FORCES TO BE ADDRESSED IN THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE THE AGGREGATES OF NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCES REMAINING IN THE GUIDELINES AREA AFTER FIRST-PHASE REDUCTIONS. THE ALLIES SHOULD SEEK FURTHER REDUCTIONS OF SOVIET FORCES IN THE SECOND PHASE./

(1) FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF DETAILED PROPOSALS IS REQUIRED.

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EITHER

/IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO TRY WITHIN THE ALLIANCE TO DEFINE FURTHER THE CONTENT OF A LATER PHASE BEFORE THE OUTCOME OF THE FIRST PHASE CAN REALISTICALLY BE PROJECTED AND THE ALLIES SHOULD NOT ATTEMPT SUCH DEFINITION AT THIS TIME. SECOND PHASE REDUCTIONS WOULD NOT BE NEGOTIATED IN PARALLEL WITH NEGOTIATION ON THE REDUCTIONS ENVISAGED IN PARAGRAPHS 7-11 ABOVE. THE ALLIES SHOULD THEREFORE NOT BECOME INVOLVED IN DISCUSSING THIS TOPIC WITH THE EAST EARLY IN NEGOTIATIONS OTHER THAN TO SAY THAT THE SECOND PHASE WOULD COMPLETE MOVEMENT TO THE OVERALL MBFR GOAL OF A COMMON CEILING ON NATO AND WARSAW PACT GROUND FORCE MANPOWER IN THE GUIDELINES AREA./

OR

/THIS SECOND PHASE, WHICH IN DUE COURSE SHOULD BE FURTHER EXAMINED AND REFLECTED UPON WITHIN THE ALLIANCE, WILL, ON THE WESTERN SIDE AT LEAST, FOCUS ON REDUCTIONS OF NATO FORCES OTHER THAN US FORCES. EACH ALLIANCE WOULD BE FREE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF HOW THE WEIGHT OF THE REDUCTIONS OF NON-US AND NON-SOVIET FORCES REQUIRED FOR THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE NATIONAL FORCES INVOLVED. REDUCED FORCES OF COUNTRIES WITHIN THE AREA SHOULD BE INACTIVATED AND PUT IN RESERVE STATUS. SUBSEQUENT TO THE SECOND PHASE THE OVERALL "COMMON CEILINGS" WOULD BE RESPECTED BY EACH SIDE, WITH NO SUB-CEILINGS OTHER THAN THOSE RESPECTIVELY AFFECTING THE US AND SOVIET FORCES WITHIN THE COMMON CEILING."

OR

/16. THE LINK BETWEEN THE FIRST AND SECOND PHASE OF REDUCTIONS AS WELL AS THE FRAMEWORK OF THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED IN A PRECISE AND COMMITTING MANNER DURING NEGOTIATION OF THE FIRST PHASE. THIS CAN BE DONE IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

(I) AN INITIAL AGREEMENT ON THE REDUCTION OF US AND SOVIET FORCES MUST BE FOLLOWED BY A SECOND PHASE
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OF NEGOTIATIONS ON REDUCTIONS OF NATO AND WP GROUND FORCES IN THE NGA IN ORDER TO COMPLETE MOVEMENT TO THE OVERALL MBFR GOAL OF A COMMON CEILING AS DEFINED IN PARAGRAPH 7 ABOVE;

(II) DURING THE FIRST PHASE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, THE NATO ALLIES WILL NEGOTIATE FOR AGREEMENT TO OUR CONCEPT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR NATO AND WP GROUND FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE; AND TO THE CONTINUATION OF MBFR IN A SECOND PHASE;

(III) THE DETAILED NEGOTIATING POSITION FOR THE SECOND PHASE, INCLUDING THE SPECIFICATION OF THE COMMON CEILING (LEVELS AND COMPOSITION) WILL BE DETERMINED WITHIN THE ALLIANCE. THE ALLIANCE WOULD WISH TO BE FREE TO DECIDE FOR ITSELF HOW THE WEIGHT OF THE REDUCTION REQUIRED FOR THE SECOND PHASE SHOULD BE DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE NATIONAL FORCES INVOLVED./(GE)

/17. IN SUMMARY, IN THE FIRST PHASE OF MBFR NEGOTIATIONS, THE ALLIES WILL SEEK SOVIET COMMITMENT TO /THE REDUCTION OF A SOVIET TANK ARMY,/ A SECOND PHASE OF NEGOTIATIONS AND THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT. THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT INVOLVING ONLY US AND SOVIET REDUCTION SHOULD PROVIDE FOR A SECOND PHASE. THE ALLIES SHOULD ILLUSTRATE THEIR COMMON CEILING CONCEPT TO THE SOVIETS BY SAYING IT WULD BE ABOUT 700,000 MEN ON EACH SIDE AND TEST SOVIET REACTION TO THIS OVERALL FIGURE, BUT THEY SHOULD NOT INSIST ON SOVIET AGREEMENT TO THIS SPECIFIC FIGURE AS A PREREQUISITE TO NEGOTIATING THE FIRST-PHASE AGREEMENT./

PROVISIONS FOR REVIEW AND AMENDMENT OF, OR WITHDRAWAL FROM, A POSSIBLE PHASE I AGREEMENT

18. (LANGUAGE TO BE PROVIDED LATER.)

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